

“Our Neighbors but Not Our Countrymen”:
Christianity and the Chinese in Nineteenth-Century
Victoria (Australia) and California

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In the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States of America and the British colonies of settlement in Australia shared the experience of gold rushes and the arrival of large numbers of immigrants including the Chinese. In both countries, the long-term impact of European imperialist expansion from the sixteenth century and the Anglo-Saxon dominance of the nineteenth-century world was inseparable from a wealth of explanatory theories about ethnicity in which culture, religion, and race contributed to a major (if unsubstantiated) corpus of evidence shared by the Anglo-Americans. The discovery of gold in 1847 in California (*Gum San, Chin Shan*—Gold Mountain) was followed by the 1854 gold rush to Victoria, Australia (*Dai Gum San, Hsin Chin Shan*—New Gold Mountain). The similarity of names indicates how close the connection was in Chinese minds at the time. This paper discusses one little-known aspect of the triangular relationship between China, America, and Australia during the second half of the nineteenth century—attempts by Protestant Christians to evangelize the Chinese immigrants.¹

This paper examines some of the parallels and differences in reactions to the arrival of the Chinese in two frontier societies—one grounded in the local application of continuing British evolutionary ideas of society and governance, and the other in the related but divergent tradition of Anglo-Protestant America and its nineteenth-century neo-Calvinist vision of the “manifest destiny” of the chosen people of God who had created the United States in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Although Australia’s predominantly British settlers shared much with the Anglo-Americans in terms of the Christian religion, social culture, and economic outlook, the Australians gained self-government and eventual independence by peaceful evolution and never had a vision of themselves as an “elect” people. What the Americans had to resort to war to gain was, by and large, progressively yielded to the Australian colonies without conflict with the “Mother” country.

The Chinese were different in almost every respect to the Victorian and Californian settlers who were themselves recent arrivals in both countries.² Archdeacon John M’Cullagh, an Anglican clergyman in Victoria, remarked of the Chinese: “They are our neighbors, but not our

countrymen.”³ An American woman writer of children’s literature remarked: “One can hardly help laughing at the strange race, they seem such a queer sort of patch in the mottled quilt of California life.”⁴ U.S. Senator Oliver Morton (R-Ind.), chairman of a U.S. Senate enquiry into Chinese immigration, wrote that many nineteenth-century Americans considered that the Chinese “show few of the characteristics of a desirable population, and many to be deprecated by any patriot.”⁵

Church leaders in both countries asked the rhetorical question: “What is to be done with the Chinese?” The Victorian Anglican newspaper’s reply in 1855 was: “Evangelize them.”⁶ Christians linked the conversion of the Chinese to assimilation into what was, in their minds, the best expression of contemporary Christianity and civilization.⁷ The Rev. Albert Williams of the Presbyterian Church in San Francisco acknowledged that it is “our duty to impart to them, for their own better civilization and the elevation of their countrymen, our own advantages.”⁸ Another American Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Ira Condit, wrote that Christians were bound “to put some gospel light into their dark minds.”⁹ At the inaugural meeting to establish the interdenominational Victoria Chinese Mission in 1855, the Mayor of Melbourne regretted the arrival of the Chinese but acknowledged the duty of Christians to “enlighten them in the unsearchable happiness of the religion of Christ.”¹⁰

Victorian and Californian Christians were caught up in the racialism of an era that saw humanity in terms of a human evolutionary tree with Anglo-Saxon British and Americans at the top, other Europeans next, the Chinese in the middle (out of respect for their cultural achievements), then other “native” peoples and, almost invariably, Australian Aboriginal people placed at the bottom of the scale of civilization.¹¹ Physical appearance, or “corporeal malediction” in reference to “inferior” races was central to discussions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European culture and civilization.¹² Nineteenth-century Christians, while little different to their neighbors in general racial attitudes, were mostly biblical literalists and took seriously the words of Paul that “God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.”¹³ That found expression not only in evangelistic efforts but, at least in Victoria, in access to social welfare services, including community medical and hospital services, and, unlike California, freedom to live among the general population and access education.

Protestant evangelistic efforts among the Chinese in America and Australia, as in China itself, grew from beliefs shaped by the evangelical revivals shared by Britain and America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries centered around a conscious act of conversion, or expression of a personal faith in Christ—the famous “heart-warming” described by John Wesley in 1738. The development of domestic mis-

sions to the Chinese were linked to efforts directed at the conversion of China that was a common theme in mission reports and literature for decades.¹⁴ The American Baptists dreamed of Christians returning to China as "powerful foreign missionaries."¹⁵ One vision was of young men "moulded anew" and sent home as missionaries.¹⁶ After nearly thirty years of basically unsuccessful evangelism, American Congregationalists continued to dream that the conversion of China would be achieved as converted Chinese returned home.¹⁷ The Rev. George Piercy, a long-term British Methodist missionary in China, advised the Victorian Methodist Chinese Mission Committee that Chinese converts from Australia were ideal as missionaries in China.¹⁸

Nineteenth-century Victoria and California were "unified by complex exchanges of people, information and goods."¹⁹ Their populations were similar, about 1.2 million by 1890. Between 1851 and 1861, the Victorian population increased from 100,000 to 500,000. The rate of increase in California was slower, from 92,000 in 1850 to 380,000 in 1860. The social environment, including "legal and cultural inheritances," was similar in each area and reports from America were regularly published in Australia, "for warning as well as for suggestion"; knowledge of America, among other things, helped shape the Australian federal constitution of 1901.²⁰ The gold "culture" developed in California included mining laws and discriminatory legislation such as special licenses for Chinese miners that were adopted in Australia.

The major difference between California and Victoria during the nineteenth century was political sovereignty. While the United States was a sovereign nation, Victoria was one of six internally self-governing colonies of the British Empire in Australia with foreign affairs, including defense and immigration, controlled by the British government in London—a situation that continued until the federation of the colonies and the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 gave Australia control of immigration.²¹ The Australian colonies could do little to limit Chinese immigration beyond imposing a poll tax of £10 on all new arrivals and taxes on movement from one colony to another.²² Files in the National Archives of Australia show that throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a small but regular flow of Chinese men between China, Hawaii, California, Canada, Southeast Asia, and Australasia. The passage of restrictive Australia-wide "White Australia" legislation in 1901 resulted in protests from shipping companies that they would lose money having to return Chinese to their port of embarkation.²³

The Chinese who traveled to America and Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century were not part of a population movement generated by governments or specific employers or by the opportunities

of a globalizing world economy. They were risk-takers seeking financial gain and then returning to China—an arrangement akin to the modern “guestworker.”²⁴ Few men stayed more than five years and the term “sojourner” was used in North America and Australasia to describe their situation as temporary residents.²⁵ The Victorian Chinese leader, Cheok Hong Cheong (Zhang Zhuoxiong), wrote: “The vast majority, if not all, of the Chinese residents here, are but sojourners having not the slightest intention of settling down which the bringing of their wives and families necessarily involves.”²⁶

Their short-term interest in Victoria can be seen in the steady decline of the Chinese population. Out of some 30,000 who came to Victoria during the nineteenth century, just 6,000 were still resident in 1901. In California, the Chinese population in 1900 numbered 45,753 out of perhaps 100,000 immigrants overall, and that was after nearly twenty years of prohibitions on new arrivals.²⁷

Most Chinese immigrants arrived through a “credit-ticket” arrangement by which passage money was loaned by a Chinese entrepreneur on condition of repayment as soon as an immigrant started earning money in the new land. Interest and service charges of more than one hundred percent were common. The arrangements were the same in California and Victoria.²⁸ Unless a man had a certificate from his district association (see below) stating that all his debts were paid, no shipping company would accept him for a passage back to China.²⁹ The rules of the See Yup (Siyi) Association in Victoria stated:

In the matter of receiving credit, borrowing money, and repaying what the capitalist in China has advanced to any member, all our countrymen must be careful to observe good faith. They must not repudiate any obligation. Any person doing so shall have his name posted up in the club-house, and he shall be compelled to pay in full the sum he owes; after that he may be permitted to take his passage on board ship, and return to China.³⁰

Christians who did not wish to use the association arrangements could obtain a certificate from one of the prominent Christian missionaries. The actual number of Christian certificates issued would have been very small, with little or no impact on the overall system overseen by the Chinese associations.

When the easily recovered alluvial (placer) gold ran out in the late 1850s, men had to look for alternative work.³¹ Mining remained a significant area, with Chinese often reworking areas abandoned by Europeans, followed by market (truck) gardening, laundry work, fishing, agricultural labor, and various forms of manufacturing. In North America, Chinese were significant participants in railroad construction, cigar

manufacture, boot-making, and some specialist areas such as watch-making. Most Chinese in Australia took up market gardening or rural laboring, with a few ageing fossickers reworking old diggings. In Victoria, in 1901, nearly half of the market gardeners were Chinese. In New South Wales, Chinese were nearly three-quarters of the total workforce in market gardening in 1891 and only slightly fewer in 1901. The 1911 Australian Census showed that of the 21,856 Chinese males in Australia, one-third were market gardeners and 1,200 were greengrocers and fruiterers.³² Only a small minority engaged in manufacturing and that was mostly in furniture-making, working on lower-price items by piece-work rather than as skilled tradesmen.³³ Chinese participation in laundry and domestic work never assumed the scale in Victoria that it did in North America,

Gold was discovered in California in 1847 and three years later California became a free state of the United States. Victoria achieved colonial self-government in 1850 and the gold rush began in 1854. The observations of the Rev. William Boyce, an English Wesleyan Methodist minister with long experience in Australia, applied equally to California. He identified the establishing of personal security and community infrastructure as "far more pressing and necessary" than in England or, it can be implied for California, the Eastern United States.³⁴ In California and Victoria, a majority of people felt they could get along without formal religious observances.³⁵ A Baptist minister in California complained in 1848 that forty-six men claiming to be Baptist ministers ignored him and "went straight to the gold mines to seek gold, not souls."³⁶

Immigrants from all ethnic backgrounds were as one in seeking to secure whatever personal benefits they could.³⁷ New settlers pushed aside aboriginal peoples³⁸ and earlier immigrants, such as the Hispanics in California, and were in no mind to accept any challenge from the Chinese even if the threat they posed was imagined rather than real.³⁹ This was particularly important for people from working-class and rural laboring backgrounds, including the Irish whose anti-Chinese activities in California have attracted much comment but do not appear to have been as prominent in Victoria.⁴⁰ The Victorian colonists created a society with significant state intervention in public works, justice, education, and social welfare, reflecting collectivist/egalitarian social democratic values that some believe distinguish Australian culture from the more individualistic ethos of the United States.⁴¹ For Californian immigrants, the social model was the "upright Anglo-Protestant societies" and the sturdy individualism of Eastern America.⁴²

The Chinese were excluded from such considerations, partly out of choice as they intended to return to China, but also because of the refusal of Europeans to allow them entry to the political process. Chinese in

Victoria who met the property qualification could vote in municipal elections and also had the right to vote for the Upper House of the Victorian Parliament (Legislative Council). As a result, Cheok Hong Cheong, the leading Victorian Chinese Christian, and his sons, and presumably some other Chinese, enjoyed the franchise for the new federal parliament after 1901.⁴³ Few Chinese bothered to seek naturalization when it was freely available, as in Victoria prior to 1888, or to meet the property franchise requirements, preferring generally to rent rather than own property. Even when men seemed settled, local circumstances could change overnight as people departed either in search of a new gold strike, or to find seasonal work. The Victorian Methodist convert Ah Hing reflected Chinese transience in his pre-baptismal testimony when he said that he had been “in many parts of the country and gone through much hard work.”⁴⁴ The Rev. Richard Fletcher, secretary of the Victoria Chinese Mission, reported that “the chief difficulty lies in the migratory habits of the diggers very few of whom remain long in a place.”⁴⁵ The Rev. William Pond, Superintendent of the California Congregational (American Missionary Association) Chinese mission, identified the same problem.⁴⁶ Rev. J. H. C. Bonte of the Protestant Episcopal Church stated: “The Christian Church in California is engaged in a severe struggle for its own existence. The nomadic habits of the people, their eager desire to make large fortunes, their lack of religious training, weakens the church very materially.”⁴⁷

In both Victoria and California, non-Catholics formed a majority of the population, but few were deeply committed to religion beyond the conventional rites of passage such as marriages and funerals.⁴⁸ Of one million or so people in California in 1890, less than a quarter declared their religious affiliation. In Victoria, where the religious denomination question in the Census was compulsory, more than a third of the population were nominally Anglican, a group statistically irrelevant in California. Many Californian churches outside the major population centers existed only because of subsidies from the Eastern States, and the Rev. William Pond declared in 1880 that most Congregational churches were “either dead or dying.”⁴⁹ The first mission to the Chinese in Victoria was the interdenominational Victoria Chinese Mission, established in 1855 and closed in 1858. During its short life, the Anglican Bishop of Melbourne and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society jointly provided half its income.

The overwhelming majority of Christians in both countries chose to ignore the local Chinese missions.⁵⁰ The Rev. William Pond was forced to leave his first congregation in San Francisco because the congregation would not accept Chinese members. Jessie Worley, a Congregational mission teacher in Fresno, California, stated that church members were

"the greatest drawback" to the local missions.⁵¹ There were far more Christians hostile to the Chinese than active supporters of the missions in both countries and many "good" Christians resented Chinese in "European" churches. For their part, the Chinese preferred the company of those with whom they shared identity, language, culture, and customs. It is not unreasonable to assume that supporters of missions to the Chinese in both countries numbered no more than 5,000 people, if that.⁵²

Despite hostility to Chinese immigration, a network of denominational missions was created. The Rev. William Pond wrote that five Protestant denominations, including his own Congregational Church, were operating in California by 1883. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA, established 1852–54) was active in five locations (San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, San Jose, and Chico), the United Presbyterian Church had missions in Los Angeles and Oakland, while the Baptists (1854) and the Protestant Episcopal Church (1855) were working in San Francisco.⁵³ The actual number of locations varied as missions opened, closed and reopened in response to local conditions.⁵⁴ In Victoria, following the collapse of the first interdenominational missions—the Victoria Chinese Mission (1855–58) at Castlemaine and the closely related Ballarat Chinese Mission (1859–60)—the Wesleyan Methodists took over at Castlemaine, the Presbyterians took Ballarat, and the Anglicans started a brief work at Yackandandah in the northeast. Within the next decade, denominationally managed missions were opened across Victoria with most remaining active until, as in California, the local Chinese population declined to a point where continuing was futile.⁵⁵

Opposition to the Chinese could be expressed in more than simple disinterest or verbal objections. The Rev. William Pond reported that the missions were often the focus of hoodlums yelling to interrupt proceedings inside and throwing stones at the roof and doors.⁵⁶ Similar incidents were reported in Victoria where Chinese were subjected to petty harassment by youths and drunken young men known in Australia as "larrikins."⁵⁷ In California and Victoria, sections of the laboring workforce, notably Irish laborers in California and the furniture trades union in Victoria, held mass meetings and sought to bring about a complete ban on Chinese immigration.

The majority of Chinese immigrants in both countries came from the adjoining rural districts of Taishan and Xinhui in Guangdong Province. Most were from laboring and small farming backgrounds and making money dominated their lives.⁵⁸ Many arrived with little beyond the shirt on their back and often their earnings were lost in gambling and opium-smoking so that after a lifetime abroad they had saved nothing. Many of the long-term residents stayed for no better reason than shame and pov-

erty. In 1857, Dr. Allison of Ballarat, responding to a request by an Anglican missionary, Lo Sam-yuen (Luo Shenyuan), warned Chinese to ensure they had adequate warm clothing for the cold Ballarat winters and sufficient money to buy food.⁵⁹ A reprint of a report in the *Ovens and Murray Advertiser* stated that between 1 July and 31 August 1857, there were 87 deaths among the 6,000 Chinese at the goldfields of the northeast.⁶⁰ Kathryn Cronin described events in graphic terms, noting that in just one week twenty men died of disease, possibly beri-beri.⁶¹

The Chinese were no different from other nationalities in seeking the company of their fellow countrymen. Dan and Annette Potts, in their history of the Victorian goldfields, report that Americans preferred to live with their compatriots.⁶² Weston Bate found that in Bendigo, the Cornish were strong in Little Gully; Tipperary Gully was Irish; while the Germans were found, with the Chinese, around Ironbark Gully. Germans favored Bendigo while Americans were strongest in Ballarat.⁶³ A California Congregational convert, Fung Affo, stated: "When a Chinaman first comes here from China, he is a dependent on his friends and relatives, who provide him food and shelter, and then find him employment until he has earned some money; then he pays them back."⁶⁴

The internal management of the Chinese diaspora communities followed the precedents of Chinese emigration within China and to Southeast Asia. Chinese associations in Victoria and California were primarily based on district of origin, with some lineage elements.⁶⁵ The Rev. Augustus Loomis wrote a series of articles about the Chinese in California for the *Overland Monthly* magazine. In an article on the Six Chinese Companies in San Francisco he identified the same societies as those established in Victoria.⁶⁶ The Victorian records do not provide information about craft guilds such as the laundrymen's association formed in California, although there was a short-lived Chinese furniture trade union in Melbourne.

District associations admitted men from a specific area of Guangdong Province, such as the Four Districts (See Yup—Siyi) and Three Districts (Sam Yup—Sanyi) associations or the Heangshan (Zhongshan) Association. The See Yup (Siyi) Association was the largest Chinese ethnic association in Victoria and California. Cheok Hong Cheong claimed that See Yup (Siyi) people, and particularly men from Taishan and Xinhui Districts, made up more than 90 percent of the Chinese population of Australia and New Zealand.⁶⁷ The Rev. William Pond wrote that the Chinese in California, "with few exceptions, all came from a small portion, two prefectures, of Kwangtung (Guangzhou) province"—that is, Taishan and Xinhui.⁶⁸

Overlapping memberships were common. The Kong Chew Society enrolled men from Xinhui, while Taishan men joined the Ning Yang

Association and both joined the See Yup (Siyi) Association that also included men from Hokshan and Hoiping Districts. All men with the surname Yu from Taishan and Koyiu were eligible to join the Hop Wo Association. Men from Zhongshan formed the Yung Wo Association and Hakka people joined the Yin Wo Association.⁶⁹ While the See Yup dominated in Victoria, they were less dominant in New South Wales where Zhongshan and Hakka people were present in considerable numbers.⁷⁰

The Rev. William Young's comment that the Chinese Christian catechist, Chu A Luk, seemed to have relatives and friends everywhere reflected the extent to which See Yup/Taishan men dominated the Chinese community in Victoria.⁷¹ There was always a link between Chinese Christians and the district associations in Victoria. Chu A Luk led a See Yup mass meeting against immigration restrictions in 1857 and, with help from local European Christians, submitted a petition to the Victorian governor dated 3 August 1857.⁷² In later years, Christians were elected leaders in the See Yup Association in Victoria.⁷³

An American Methodist Episcopal missionary, the Rev. Otis Gibson said: "When Chinamen leave home, and go to other countries, the first thing they do is to form a guild, and build a temple. The temple is the hall where they meet to talk over matters, arrange business matters and settle differences and difficulties among themselves."⁷⁴

The temples built by the associations were much more than places of worship and rites of passage formed by European ideas of church buildings. The presence of "joss-houses" or "club-houses" or "temples" is recorded in almost every significant Chinese community in America and Australia.⁷⁵ The Californian Senate investigation reported that they were centers exercising a supervisory role over members and this was confirmed in reports from Victoria.⁷⁶ The rules of the Ballarat branch of the See Yap Society in 1861 declared: "To solve difficulties and remove troubles is the constant business of the society. If, however, there be a want of evidence in cases where a person ought to be punished or rewarded . . . then the two parties who have differences must go to the club-house . . . and the directors of the society must endeavor to elicit the truth."⁷⁷

Chinese used the European courts in either country when necessary and they were prepared to influence evidence given to the courts.⁷⁸ On occasions, violence was acceptable although this seems to have been limited to the activities of "secret" societies such as the Triads. A Californian interpreter, Ah Dan, said: "These agreements for murder are red papers written in Chinese, and say they will give so much money on condition you kill so-and-so. If the murderer is arrested, they will get good counsel to defend him. If he is sent to prison, they will pay him so

much money to recompense him, and if he is hung they will send so much money to his relatives in China."⁷⁹ A Chinese named Newing was executed in New South Wales for murdering another Chinese and information presented to the court suggested that he was a hired killer brought in especially from America.⁸⁰

In California, the most familiar voice of the Chinese community was the Six Companies, later the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA).⁸¹ The nearest equivalent in Victoria was the Victorian Chinese Residents Association, a much less significant body but, like the CCBA, controlled by the merchant elite of the Chinese business community.⁸² The merchant elites controlled policy-making while a lower level of elected officers carried out everyday management functions.⁸³ Rituals were usually conducted by leading merchants who often purchased official Chinese rank to highlight their authority. Where there were too few men in a particular location to form a branch of an association with a temple, a local storekeeper often acted as an agent for the association.

Chinese immigrants could not express their mind-set about family and home through the institutional forms of the dominant European culture, and the "joss-houses" or Chinese temples were the means through which the social, cultural, and other needs of their communities were managed. At the most immediate level, temple officers arranged the traditional rituals associated with caring for the graves of the departed and managed a form of insurance program for the exhumation of the bones of dead men for return to China and burial in ancestral plots.⁸⁴ Repatriation of bones is mentioned many times in California and Australia.⁸⁵ This was essential if traditional Chinese family values centered on the worship of ancestors were to be maintained. The bodies of men who had no relatives or friends prepared to pay the costs of repatriation, or who had not paid the insurance premium to their association, were abandoned and dealt with by local authorities as pauper burials.⁸⁶ Christian Chinese sometimes repatriated bones of deceased friends and relatives, but Cheok Hong Cheong roundly condemned a Chinese missionary in Victoria for his involvement in an exhumation.⁸⁷

Religious observances in the Chinese temples were aimed at encouraging men to identify with family, district, and homeland and thereby sustaining loyalty to Chinese culture and traditions. In his early years at Ballarat, Cheong Peng-nam took his son Cheok Hong Cheong to the See Yup (Siyi) temple in Ballarat on the emperor's birthday as an affirmation of his loyalty to China. However, that was the only time such an action was mentioned in Cheok Hong Cheong's papers and he did not take his own children to a temple or attend religious functions in Chinese temples.⁸⁸

In addition to encouraging community cohesion and a distinct Chi-

nese identity, the clubhouses provided other services. The Rev. Augustus Loomis noted that the San Francisco associations had accommodation facilities for men moving in search of work or waiting to return to China.⁸⁹ Ho A Low, a nephew of the Rev. Ho Fuk-tong (Ho Tsun Shin), the first ordained Chinese Protestant minister (London Missionary Society, Hong Kong), worked as a catechist with the interdenominational Victoria Chinese Mission from 1855 to 1857. Ho said that the See Yup in Melbourne provided accommodation for men moving to and from the goldfields and that he stayed there himself.⁹⁰

The mention of links with the small Christian community in Hong Kong and Guangdong Province serves to highlight once more the close triangular links between California and Victoria. Chinese Christians from both the Anglican St. Paul's College and the Anglo-Chinese School of the London Missionary Society and the Morrison Education Society of Guangzhou (Canton) are mentioned in connection with missions in California and Victoria. There is not the space to pursue this in detail but Carl Smith's work provides an introduction to this issue.⁹¹

With debt always in the background, many immigrants would not, or could not, pay their association subscriptions. Missionaries in Castlemaine, Victoria, were told of a sick man, probably mentally ill, who survived by begging. The missionaries called Dr. Montgomery but the man was beyond help.⁹² The rules of the See Yup Association stated that a non-member was: "An outside man. Should he get involved in any quarrel or sickness, or in the case of death or trouble in mercantile matters, he having no ticket from the society to produce, any member of the society who shall interpret for him shall be fined the sum of £10. . . . There shall be no deviation from this rule."⁹³

Accounts of Chinese life in America and Australia have tended, as one American historian has observed, to focus on negative examples of European behavior while overlooking the complex relationships within the Chinese community.⁹⁴ After opening the Victoria Chinese Mission at Castlemaine in 1855, the Rev. William Young reported that the See Yup (Siyi) and Heang Shan (Zhongshan) men in Castlemaine were frequently at loggerheads.⁹⁵ In September 1856, there was a riot at White Hill in Bendigo between the See Yup (Siyi) and another, probably Sam Yup (Sanyi), group.⁹⁶ The large labor teams characteristic of the contract emigration arrangements also generated communal rivalries: "A great number of these Chinese do not work on their own account but are engaged by the "Bosses" . . . they work mostly in clans. On the Black Lead there are no fewer than ten of these clans quite distinct, and the inveteracy of their hatred one towards another is most remarkable."⁹⁷

The most serious intercommunal violence in Australia occurred at Lukinville, Queensland, in 1878. The See Yup (Siyi) were said to have

mustered six thousand combatants against about two thousand Chung Shan (Heang Shan—Zhongshan) members. Most were armed with whatever came to hand, but there were a number who had guns.⁹⁸ Rivalries between societies in California also resulted in pitched battles, with what may have been the first in 1854 between Sam Yap (Sanyi) and Yan Woo (Yung Wo) at Chinese Camp, Tuolumne County.⁹⁹

Intercommunal violence in the Chinese community declined as the communities settled and aged. Much of the serious crime among the Chinese in America was linked to a criminal element associated with the Yee Hing, a Cantonese sept of the wider Triad movement.¹⁰⁰ The Triads, or Heaven and Earth Society, or Hung League, were originally a peasant protection society but crime became their major interest around the world.¹⁰¹ In Australia and America, they took the name Chinese Masonic Society (Chung Wah Ming Kuo Kung Hui) and had members in every Chinese community of any size.¹⁰² Triad groups existed across the United States as they did in Australia.¹⁰³ Cheok Hong Cheong wrote several letters to a friend about his association with a man whom Cheong implied was a leading member of the Yee Hing in Melbourne and involved in criminal activities: “I have as a matter of fact on several occasions reported to the police when violence was threatened against the peaceful members of the Chinese Community by the banded ruffians of a certain Secret Society.”¹⁰⁴

In California, the Triads were linked to many violent episodes. One study reported 223 episodes in one California newspaper in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ The term “Triad” in the United States refers to separate small groups rather than a single coordinated body and the same may have applied to the different colonial branches in Australia.¹⁰⁶

Nineteenth-century Chinese immigration to California and Victoria was a male affair. The emigrants traveled abroad as single men, whether or not they were engaged or already married in China.¹⁰⁷ About 90 percent of Chinese immigrants in the 1850s and 1860s were men under thirty years of age, and their goal was not settlement but to make money as quickly as possible and then go home.¹⁰⁸ There were several underlying reasons why women did not emigrate. First, it was not the custom for women to go abroad on “sojourning” or short-term working visits by men;¹⁰⁹ second, women were often collateral for credit ticket loans; and third, credit ticket arrangements were not extended to women or families by Chinese emigration entrepreneurs, although young boys were assisted.¹¹⁰ Statistics on Chinese female immigration to Victoria are shown in Table 1, and the marital state of the Victorian Chinese in 1881 are shown in Table 2.

By 1921, intermarriage between Chinese and others in Australia had produced 1,884 girls and 1,771 boys.¹¹¹ Prostitution and concubinage of

Chinese women was unknown (or unreported) in Victoria.¹¹² One Chinese prostitute arrived in Melbourne but was immediately sent home by the Chinese leadership.¹¹³ The arrival of two young women aged 15 and 16 years, who were to "marry" Chinese men aged 36 and 72 years, aroused momentary interest, but such arrivals were also rare in Australia although mentioned in California.¹¹⁴ In Victoria, the churches tried unsuccessfully to persuade the government to help Chinese immigrants bring their wives and children to the colony to reduce the gender imbalance.¹¹⁵ The imbalance in nineteenth-century California was similar to that in Victoria and the only difference, albeit a vital one, was at the edges—the acceptance of legally recognized interracial marriage in Australia.¹¹⁶ California permitted the immigration of Chinese women prostitutes until the passage of the Page Law in 1875 which effectively banned all female Chinese immigrants. Gender ratios of male to female in California for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1890 are 18.6:1, 12.8:1, 21.1:1, and 26.8:1, respectively.¹¹⁷

Miscegenation laws—the legal expression of the "Jim Crow" tradition—banned intermarriage in California although cohabitation occurred and children were born, but researched information is sparse.¹¹⁸ In Victoria, intermarriage was legally accepted, but there were also relationships that were of a *de facto* rather than *de jure* status, and again information on this is difficult to find.¹¹⁹ The focus of American miscegenation laws, as Peggy Pascoe wryly observes, was on preventing marriage, not sex.¹²⁰ Chinese abroad "regularly formed alliances, whether legitimized or not" and had done so for centuries and continued the practice in Australia.¹²¹ An Australian historian remarked that the main commercial activity of European women on the Victorian goldfields was selling sex to all comers, Chinese included, although Brennan and Quong Tart suggested that the women who took Chinese clients were older and not acceptable to Europeans.¹²² The 1870 California Census reported 3,000 Chinese women of whom over 2,000 were engaged in prostitution.¹²³

Christians in California responded to the prostitution issue by establishing refuges for Chinese women. The Chinatown Presbyterian Home in California, opened by the New Zealand-born Donaldina Cameron, has been described in many reports.¹²⁴ A similar institution was opened in 1870 by the Women's Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast of the Methodist Episcopal Church under the leadership of the Rev. and Mrs. Otis Gibson.¹²⁵ Despite the extensive discussions since, these were at best very marginal efforts. The Congregational Mission concluded that the two existing missions could deal with the forty or so women accessible each year.¹²⁶ As with the hope of evangelizing China, or converting many Chinese in California, the intentions of the missionaries were no-

bler than their achievements.

The overall treatment of Chinese and mixed-race children in Australia was markedly gentler than in California. Victorian public and private schools accepted Chinese and mixed-race children who could afford to send their children to school; there was no residential segregation other than that produced by family income; no curfew laws; no refusal to permit exhumation of human remains; no exclusion from towns or occupations in Victoria or New South Wales; and little of the violence that was experienced by Chinese in America. Racial vilification was widespread in Australia but the courts, supported by public opinion, dealt firmly with anti-Chinese violence.¹²⁷ May suggests that in general, “Magistrates and judges were amongst the few whose occupation forced them to take a detached view of contemporary racial attitudes, and it is apparent that they were generally opposed to blatant racial hostility.”¹²⁸

There was nothing in Australia to compare with the ongoing violence experienced by Chinese in North America, such as the Wyoming riots of 1885; the Chinese Massacre of Los Angeles on 24 October 1871; the Deep Creek, Oregon, massacre in 1887; or the mass expulsions of Chinese from local communities across the Western United States.¹²⁹ No Chinese were murdered in Australia’s two widely reported goldfield riots: the Buckland River riot of 1857 in Victoria (although some died accidentally while running away) and Lambing Flat in New South Wales in 1861; or the Albert Street riot in Brisbane in May 1888.¹³⁰ The presence of colony-wide police forces and a judiciary answerable directly to the colonial government may have played a part in the quieter Australian culture.¹³¹ The other and more compelling factor was the absence of the endemic racism produced by slavery in the United States and the consequent legitimization and widespread American public acceptance of discriminatory practices against non-Europeans.¹³²

In both places, population growth and urbanization were creations of the gold rush and communities of Chinese became a focus of criticisms usually linked to talk of opium-smoking, prostitution, gambling, and disease.¹³³ Opium, smoked and also eaten, was a major health issue within the Chinese community in America and Australia. A Victorian Methodist convert, Ham Sin Way, described the impact of seeing his friends converted, and their success in overcoming opium led him to accept Christianity: “About ten months ago, I noticed two men pass my door at Moonlight Flat, to go to the Chinese Church at Castlemaine; I knew they were once as great smokers as I was and that they could never give it up till they became Christians. Their appearance was quite changed, and they looked like other men; and I heard people say that, their actions and tempers were quite changed.”¹³⁴

Personal contacts were significant in attracting men to Christianity.¹³⁵

Tse Tak of Victoria mentioned the kindness of a European blacksmith and his wife, who "was to me as a mother."¹³⁶ One of the most influential Chinese leaders in California, and later an ordained Presbyterian minister, Ng Poon Chew (Wu Panzhao), was attacked by hooligans in San Francisco and was rescued by a local Sunday School teacher. As a result of the friendship that followed, Ng became a Christian.

It must be said that close friendships with Europeans were the exception rather than the rule. In later life, Cheok Hong Cheong commented bitterly that it was rare for any of the Chinese Christians to be invited to mix socially with Europeans. His extensive correspondence does not indicate regular social, as distinct from formal or business contacts, although he mentioned occasionally inviting Europeans to his house.¹³⁷ Many of the Chinese Christians in California worked in European households, but their more intimate contact through employment is not evidence of enduring personal friendships. In all the many reports on their work with the Chinese in California, the Rev. William Pond and other missionaries do not refer to any close social relationships with Chinese.

Australians and Californians knew that Protestant missionaries in China had arrived, as Anglican Bishop Moorhouse of Melbourne put it, "at the butt-end of a musket."¹³⁸ Archdeacon Robert L. King of Sydney denounced British policy in China as driven by "mercenary purposes" at "the cannon's mouth."¹³⁹ Cheok Hong Cheong wrote a much-cited statement, in collaboration with two prominent Melbourne Chinese merchants, in which he outlined the forcible opening of China and argued that the respective treaties with the foreign powers gave "the people of both nations the utmost freedom of ingress and egress."¹⁴⁰ Cheong knew of the Sino-American Burlingame Treaty of 1868 that, unlike earlier treaties, permitted Chinese entry to the United States, but Britain, and therefore the Australian colonies, never conceded the principle. Baron de Worms, under secretary at the Foreign Office, in an 1888 statement to the House of Commons said that "No treaty existed under which China had the right to send her subjects to the British colonies and if they were so sent Great Britain was not in any way pledged to admit them."¹⁴¹ Cheong, on the contrary, argued that Europeans forced Chinese immigration: "We *must* come in, and you *shall* come out. We will not suffer you to shut yourselves up from the rest of the world. We want to inoculate you with our enterprise, and to bring you inside the great family of nations."¹⁴²

Cheong ignored several centuries of emigration within China and to Southeast Asia, although he would have had this knowledge through his close family friendship with the leading merchant Lowe Kong Meng of the Melbourne branch of the long-established Goon Freres enterprise in Penang and Mauritius.¹⁴³ One recent writer has suggested that "it was not the British who brought the Chinese to Malaya, but it was the

Chinese and the Malays who brought the British.”¹⁴⁴ Cheong’s exceptional English-language skills made him the undisputed public voice of the Victorian Chinese Residents Association and later the national Australian Chinese Committee. He constructed his own versions of reality irrespective of any facts to the contrary. He had no precise equivalent in the Chinese Christian community in the United States, although the Rev. Ng Poon Chew was a leader endowed with similar abilities and the ability to respond to community needs.¹⁴⁵

Mentioning Ng Poon Chew raises another shared topic between China, California and Australia. Newspapers were an important means of communication within the Chinese diaspora internationally and in each country.¹⁴⁶ A four-page California paper, *Tung Ngai San-Luk* (The oriental), was published by the Rev. William Speer in 1854.¹⁴⁷ After ending active Christian ministry in 1899, Ng Poon Chew initially printed the *Hua Mei Sun Bo* (Chinese American morning paper) in Los Angeles, and continued the paper after he returned to San Francisco.¹⁴⁸ In early 1900, he produced the first Chinese-language daily newspaper in America, the *Chung Sai Yat Pao* (Chinese American daily paper).¹⁴⁹ The Rev. William Matthew, superintendent of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission in Victoria, attempted a short-lived paper in the early 1870s using fonts imported from China.¹⁵⁰

A major difference between British (including Australians) and American missionaries in China was the American focus on higher education. American missionaries were, almost universally, college graduates.¹⁵¹ The American practice of promoting individual self-improvement through Christian colleges resulted in many young Chinese receiving higher education in the United States.¹⁵² In general, “British” missionaries had little interest in higher education and the majority of British missionaries, in common with the overwhelming majority of the colonial populations, did not complete secondary school. British/Australian missionaries were selected for personal spirituality and life experience rather than formal education.¹⁵³ American missionaries came to believe that it was China as a whole that needed social and cultural reconstruction and that higher education was the appropriate methodology, but this reflected the American social and cultural experience and was not shared by the British.¹⁵⁴ Almost all the key people supervising the American domestic Chinese missions were college graduates who had served in China. Of the non-Chinese missionaries in Australia, only the Rev. William Young and briefly, an American Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Daniel Vrooman, had any personal experience of China.¹⁵⁵ It was rare for any of the Australian clergy involved with Chinese missions to have any significant higher education qualifications, with most receiving a sub-university-level training.

The Californian missions were characterized by English-language day and evening classes, with European women paid to provide teaching with the support of local converts.¹⁵⁶ English classes were not as systematically developed in Victoria, although there was an Anglican network across Melbourne and Bendigo by the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁷ Despite the desire of many Chinese to learn English and the lack of alternatives, attendances at Californian mission classes were small—in one instance just 7 men in a Chinese community of 1,500.¹⁵⁸ The Rev. William Pond did not believe English classes to be the best approach and at least once recommended a system of paid, resident Chinese missionaries very similar to the Victorian model.¹⁵⁹ The Chinese conversion rate, as measured by baptisms, was higher in Victoria.¹⁶⁰ What little Chinese interest there was in English classes provided by the missions was functional. A Chinese Christian in California said: "An unchristianized Chinaman cares nothing about the teaching of the Bible, but he is anxious to learn the English language."¹⁶¹ A Victorian Presbyterian query about recruiting men from China who were Christians and fluent in English received the disheartening answer that Chinese who spoke English "readily find lucrative employment in secular pursuits."¹⁶²

Christians trying to evangelize the Chinese found the language barrier almost impossible to overcome and, apart from the English-language classes, church people could do little beyond distributing Chinese-language reading material—the Bible, the New Testament, and Christian tracts—to Chinese met in passing.¹⁶³ It was rare to find a minister or layman in either country who spoke Cantonese.¹⁶⁴ The Anglican Bishop of Melbourne observed: "At present no one can thoroughly understand the reports of the Chinese missionaries, and, worse still, no one can test the real character of their labours by direct communication with those who profess to be converts."¹⁶⁵

The Rev. George Piercy, a veteran English Methodist missionary in China, advised the Victorian Methodist Chinese Mission that the only solution to the language barrier was to send a man to China for language study.¹⁶⁶ The Rev. James Caldwell was sent to Guangdong by the Victorian Methodist Mission to learn the local Cantonese dialects. He wrote home that language was only part of the problem and that education and modes of thought were equally difficult barriers to understanding.¹⁶⁷ Unfortunately, Caldwell drowned shortly after his arrival in China. A much later attempt by the Victorian Anglican Mission failed because the Rev. E. J. Barnett decided to remain permanently in Hong Kong.

The Californian missions of all denominations had the services of European missionaries with first-hand experience of China. The Australian missions had no success in recruiting missionaries from China but did sponsor occasional visits. The employment of returned mission-

aries in California did not have any notable impact and, as Laurie Maffly-Kipp noted, the majority of ministers, in California and Victoria, finding almost total disinterest in their evangelistic efforts, engaged themselves in institution-building of various kinds, including churches, educational facilities, refuges, and benevolent services.¹⁶⁸

Few Chinese had any facility with English—"a sad tangle," as one California missionary leader described the letters he received from Chinese attending Congregational classes.¹⁶⁹ The Anglo-Chinese College of the London Missionary Society and St Paul's Anglican College in Hong Kong were sources of a few English-speaking Chinese missionaries in Australasia, and some students found their way to California and others to Australia. The Rev. Albert Williams of the Presbyterian Church wrote that the first Christian Chinese he met was baptized as an Anglican by the Bishop of Hong Kong, the Rt. Rev. George Smith, who visited Victoria in the 1850s to advise on Anglican work among the Chinese.¹⁷⁰

The New South Wales Anglican missionary, Rev. George Soo Hoo Ten, credited with over 2,000 converts, became a Christian in a Baptist mission in California. Soo Hoo Ten's travels are illustrative of the "triangular" movement of Chinese already mentioned. It is not known why he decided to move from California to New South Wales.¹⁷¹ After his arrival, he made contact with the Wesleyan Methodists in Sydney but, again for reasons that are not known, decided to work with the Anglicans as a Chinese missionary. He was made a deacon and later a priest and, in terms of baptisms, was the most successful missionary to the Chinese in Australia.¹⁷² One Victorian Methodist convert turned up in Vancouver where he gave voluntary assistance to a local Methodist Chinese mission.¹⁷³

There were family connections between Chinese in America and Australia. One of the first ruling elders of the Chinese Presbyterian Church in San Francisco was the brother-in-law of the first Chinese Protestant pastor (London Missionary Society) in Hong Kong, Leong A Fa. A Fa's son, Leong A Toe, was one of the first Chinese Christians to work as a missionary in Victoria, initially with the Victoria Chinese Mission and later with the Victorian Methodist Chinese Mission. Ho A Low, relative of the first Chinese Protestant pastor, was mentioned above. He later worked as a government interpreter in Victoria and New Zealand and his younger brother spent some time with him before they both returned to China. He had the same surname as another of the graduates of Rev. James Legge's Anglo-Chinese College (London Missionary Society) in Hong Kong who arrived in California and may have been a relative, although that cannot be confirmed. The Rev. William Speer wrote that several Chinese Christians from the Anglo-Chinese School in Hong Kong in San Francisco formed the nucleus of the Presbyterian mission. At

least three more of Legge's students came to Victoria and two worked with the Victoria Chinese Mission while the third worked for many years as a Government interpreter. A British journal reporting both the California and Victorian developments referred to the "remarkable coincidences of the case."¹⁷⁴

In the course of the nineteenth century, local Chinese missions in California and Victoria evolved into tiny ethnic congregations served by untrained Chinese converts working under supervising ministers separated from the daily reality of the Chinese by language, culture, and social status.¹⁷⁵ Despite extensive Christian missionary efforts during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most Chinese showed little interest in Christianity—and that included the majority of men educated in Christian institutions in China whose interest was in learning English and foreign business skills.¹⁷⁶

Accusations that converts had lost their Chinese identity were reported many times by Lo Sam-yuen and other catechists in Victoria.¹⁷⁷ Exchanges sometimes degenerated into almost childish abuse as in the case of a discussion between Leong A Toe, a Methodist missionary at Castlemaine, and a local Chinese resident, Leong A Ping. A Ping said in his pre-baptismal testimony that "I began to argue with him. He said what he spoke was true. I said it was untrue. And again, when he said a thing was untrue, I said it was true."¹⁷⁸

There are only passing references to letters from individual Australian and American converts in China and most mentioned their continuing Christian commitment as well as some of the difficulties that confronted them, especially regarding their involvement in village and family rituals such as marriages and ancestor worship.¹⁷⁹ The Rev. Andrew Happer described the circumstances of a Californian convert who was forced to marry but refused to honor idols and ancestors in the usual way. He woke to find his wife trying to strangle him and finally sent her back to her family.¹⁸⁰ Another Californian convert described the reaction of one man to a convert: "If you were my brother, I would kill you instantly."¹⁸¹ The father of Californian Congregational convert and missionary, Lem Chung, told him: "No other way better than Confucius; so many of your countrymen do not believe Christ. You must leave off and come back to our own way. Believe the way that most of our people believe."¹⁸² He was better off than Wong Thong of Sacramento whose father chased him with a hatchet.¹⁸³ On the other hand, Chin Gaing made a visit home to his family in China. His mother was concerned that he was not following all the old customs, but in the end concluded: "If you have anything good, then keep it."¹⁸⁴ A Californian Presbyterian said that he had an uncle converted in Australia, while he and his brother were converted in California, and that he hoped they could start a church

in their home village.¹⁸⁵

Most Chinese immigrants saw their time abroad as a passing stage in their lives and resisted most aspects of foreign civilization so they could resume a normal lifestyle when they returned home.¹⁸⁶ There is evidence from both Californian and Victorian sources that many Christian converts adhered to their new faith after their return to China, but there is little known about the proportion who lapsed in the face of open opposition at home. Family reactions to returnees varied considerably, not only in regard to religion and other “foreign” behaviors, but also in the personal freedom of action that men experienced while abroad. While many slid back relatively comfortably into the ways of home, there were many who found they had been profoundly changed by their experiences abroad. While their earnings in Victoria and California might have been small by European standards, the men found that their income in China was not only smaller still but controlled by family elders. Most had become used to making their own choices and some found home and tradition intolerably confining. A small minority experienced so much personal disorientation when they returned home that they returned to America or Australia.¹⁸⁷ Cheong Peng-nam, father of Cheok Hong Cheong, quickly repaid his original loan and went home three times between 1855 and 1863. On his last visit he brought his wife, son, and two daughters to live permanently in Australia.

Despite the close parallels in terms of Christian response to the arrival of the Chinese, the overall hostility of most Europeans in Victoria and California limited the extent of the work undertaken by the small cohort of missionary-minded ministers and laypeople among them. Europeans were clear in their mind that whatever their own claims to the land, the Chinese had none and conversion to Christianity did not lessen European prejudice against the Chinese. Denominational leaders showed little interest in either America or Australia in stimulating Chinese Christian autonomy, still less the creation of any distinctive Chinese expression of the Christian faith.

There was little ongoing or systematic contact between the Christian efforts in California and Victoria, although there were occasional flashes of shared intelligence such as the English journal that in 1855 mentioned the Presbyterian mission in California and the Victoria Chinese Mission on the same page.¹⁸⁸ The vision of the Victorians and Californians remained localized, although arguably there was more enthusiasm in Victoria for supporting missionary work in China than was the case in California.

The fundamental difference between the circumstances of the Chinese in nineteenth-century California and Victoria was the institutionalized racism in the United States that was absent in Australia.¹⁸⁹

Australian opinion makers were well aware of the American racial situation and had no wish to emulate it.¹⁹⁰ By the time of the Victorian gold rushes, liberal and social democratic thinking was emerging with the rise of the British trades union movement and its political arm, the Labor Party, both with roots in nineteenth-century evangelical social reformism. The labor movement in Australia arose directly from British roots, and Australian unionists and liberals utterly rejected any concept of a white working class competing for work with cheaper slave or indentured colored labor. What is certain is that very few of the tens of thousands of Chinese who traveled to America or Australia became Christians.

Table 1
Chinese Female Immigration to Australia, 1861-1891

Province	1861	1871	1881	1891
Victoria	8	36	259	132
New South Wales	2	12	6	4
Queensland	1	1	23	47
South Australia	–	–	5	71
Tasmania	–	–	2	8
Western Australia	–	–	–	3
Total	11	49	353	370

Source: Compiled from Australian Census Reports in Commonwealth Year Book 1925.

Table 2
Marital State of Chinese in Victoria, 1881

Place	Men	Wives in China	Wives in Victoria	Children in Victoria
Ballarat	800	260	21	48
Smythesdale	1,500	n/a	3	14
Avoca	250	150	4	9
Ararat	1,000	n/a	4	10
Maryborough	1,400	600	2	4
Castlemaine	1,000	300	7	20
Daylesford	1,021	450	4	9
Bendigo	3,500	2,100	6	15
Beechworth	7,000	3,500	10	20
Total	17,671	7,360	161	149

Source: Census of Victoria, 1881.

1. For the Australian scene, see Ian Welch, "Pariahs and Outcasts: Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia" (M.A. thesis, Monash University, 1980); idem, "Alien Son: The life and times of Cheok Hong Cheong, (Zhang Zhuoxiong) 1851–1928" (Ph.D. diss., Australian National University, 2003), available at <<http://thesis.anu.edu.au/public/adt-ANU20051108.111252/>> and <<http://anglicansonline.org/resources/history.html#asia/>> (accessed on 27 Nov. 2007); idem, "The Anglican Chinese Mission in Victoria, Australia, 1860–1898," *St. Mark's Review*, Autumn 1995; idem, "Cheok Hong Cheong: 1851–1928," *ibid.*, Spring 1997; and idem, "The Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Evangelisation of the Chinese on the Victorian Goldfields in the 19th Century" (Paper presented at the Methodist History Project Conference, World Parish to World Church, Sarum College, Salisbury, 25–26 Nov. 2003). The pioneer study for California is Robert Seager, "Some Denominational Reactions to Chinese Immigration to California, 1856–1892," *Pacific Historical Review* 28 (1959).

2. The concept of "nativism" is relevant here, being similar in both North America and Australasia in its emphasis on the "prior right" of Anglo-Celtic settlers against all other subsequent immigrants. See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1955).

3. *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad* (Melbourne), December 1882, Supp. 25. This journal was published by the Rev. H. B. Macartney Jr., a leading Anglican evangelical minister in Melbourne. He was a member of the First Council of the Australian Committee of the China Inland Mission and the Church Missionary Association of Victoria, formed in 1892 to send Australians to work with Church Missionary Society missionaries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

4. Lucy St. John, "The Chinese in California," *Robert Merry's Museum*, February 1870.

5. *American Missionary* (hereafter cited as AM), March 1878, 72–74. See also U.S. Senate, *Report of the Special Joint Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration*, Report 869 (Washington, D.C., 1877). Morton was the Committee chairman. This report, with the California Senate Report the following year, provides the best overview of contemporary nineteenth-century American (and to a large extent Australian) views of the Chinese. California State Senate, *Report of the Special Committee on Chinese Immigration* (Sacramento, Calif., 1878). No Chinese appeared before the State Senate Committee.

6. *Church of England Record for the Diocese of Melbourne*, September 1855, 1–2.

7. California and Victoria shared a similar sense of racial and cultural superiority felt by the European majority, but the impact of racism was much less in Victoria which lacked the racial history of the United States. This issue is beyond the focus of this paper but is part of the background throughout. A discussion of the role of race in history is Thomas C. Holt, "Marking Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," *American Historical Review* 100 (February 1995).

8. Albert Williams, *A Pioneer Pastorate and Times, Embodying Contemporary Local Transactions and Events, San Francisco, 1809–1893* (San Francisco, 1879), 219.

9. Ira Condit, *The Chinaman As We See Him* (New York, 1900), 90–91.

10. *Argus* (Melbourne), 30 June 1855; *Church of England Record for the Diocese of Melbourne*, September 1851, 1.

11. Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth Century America," *Journal of American History* 83 (1996), 48. See also Kevin Blackburn, "Imagining Aboriginal Nations: Early Nineteenth Century Evangelicals on the Australian Frontier and the 'Nation' Concept," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 48 (2002).

12. On “corporeal malediction,” see Henry Chan, “Rethinking the Chinese Diasporic Identity: Citizenship, Cultural Identity, and the Chinese in Australia” (Paper presented to a conference on the Chinese in Australasia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change, University of Otago, New Zealand, 1999); Richard P. Cole and Gabriel J. Chin, “Emerging from the Margins of Historical Consciousness: Chinese Immigrants and the History of American law,” *Law and History Review* 17 (Summer 1999).

13. The Acts of the Apostles, 17:26.

14. *Church of England Messenger* (Melbourne), 8 Oct. 1884; Rev. W. C. Pond said that one of the key objectives of the Congregational Chinese Mission in California was the conversion of China. The corporate seal of the mission carried the title, “China for Christ.” Pond, Rev. W. C., “God Answers Persevering Prayer,” *AM*, October 1882; Wesley S. Woo, “Presbyterian Mission: Christianizing and Civilizing the Chinese in Nineteenth-Century California,” *American Presbyterians*, Fall 1990, 167; Timothy Tseng, “Ministry at Arms Length: Asian Americans in the Racial Ideology of American Mainline Protestants, 1882–1952” (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1994), chap. 1. There were some striking successes. A convert from California, Fong Sec or Fong Won, later became the head of the Salvation Army in China. *AM*, July 1895, 237–39. The classic discussions of Christian missions in China are K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London, 1929); and T. Miller (1922), *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai, 1922). On domestic missions to the Chinese in California, the most accessible source are the files of the Congregational Church’s American Missionary Society, <<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/browse.journals/amis.html>>. There is no equivalent in Australia. Some material on Victorian Chinese Missions can be found at <<http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/welch/missionaries.htm#vcm>> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007).

15. Twenty-First Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society (New York, 1853), 53–54.

16. *Princeton Review*, January 1853, 100.

17. Rev. A. Hall, “Report on Chinese Missions,” *AM*, December 1884, 372–73.

18. *Wesleyan Chronicle* (Melbourne), 20 Oct. 1868.

19. The pioneering Presbyterian minister in San Francisco, Rev. Albert Williams, mentions the inflow of Australians after 1849, many of whom he describes as a “moral pestilence” and major contributors to lawlessness. He received Sydney newspapers and had contact with Australia’s most famous Presbyterian minister, the Rev. John Dunmore Lang of Sydney. Williams, *Pioneer Pastorate*, 115. A cartoon to illustrate Brett Harte’s poem “Heathen Chinese” (1870) was known in Australia. A revised version, “A Game Of Poker,” W. Russell, is held by the Autry Museum of Western Heritage. The National Library of Australia, Canberra, holds an Australian version by J. C. F. Johnson, labeled “A Game of Euchre,” in which an Aboriginal person replaces an American Indian in the Autry version.

20. George R. Parkin, “The Anglo-Saxon in the Southern Hemisphere,” *The Century* (New York), November 1890, 610. Ian W. McLean and Alan M. Taylor, “Australian Growth: A California Perspective” (Paper based on an original draft presented to a Conference on Analytical Country Studies on Growth, Center for International Development, Harvard University, April 2001). Alice Cowan Cochran, *Miners, Merchants and Missionaries: The Roles of Missionaries and Pioneer Churches in the Colorado Gold Rush and Its Aftermath, 1858–1870* (Metuchen, N.J., 1980).

21. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia drew upon the U.S. Constitution as well as established British practices. For a brief overview, see John

Kilcullen, "A Comparison of the Australian, British, and American Political Systems," Sydney, Macquarie University, 2000. <<http://www.humanities.mq.edu.au/Ockham/y67xan1.html>> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007).

22. A commutation tax of \$10, in effect a poll-tax, was charged on all Chinese entering and leaving California from 1852 to 1872 when it was declared unconstitutional. Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, *Memorial: Six Chinese Companies* (1877); an address to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, Testimony of California's leading citizens before the Joint Special Congressional Committee, San Francisco, 8 Dec. 1877, 5–6. The poll-tax on Chinese (but not other immigrants) was the main control on Chinese immigration to Australia from 1855.

23. National Archives of Australia, Canberra, Microfilm Series A8.

24. The evolution of Chinese policy toward emigration is discussed in Wang Sing-wu, "The Attitude of the Ch'ing Court toward Chinese Emigration," *Chinese Culture* 9 (December 1968). On the Irish emigration, see Reginald Byron, *Irish America* (New York, 1999).

25. A pioneering study is Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964). An overview of the debate over the sojourner concept in the United States is Woon Yuen-fong, "The Voluntary Sojourner among the Overseas Chinese: Myth or Reality," *Pacific Affairs* 56 (Winter 1983–84). On the official understanding of Chinese sojourning in Australia, see A. Yarwood, *Attitudes to Non-European Immigration to Australia* (Melbourne, 1968).

26. Cheong to Sir James Munro, Premier of Victoria, 21 June 1891 (copy in author's possession).

27. Statistics on Chinese immigration are unreliable. Most men stayed abroad for around five years. Identities and documents were frequently exchanged with new arrivals. Many men took indirect and unrecorded routes, for example, from South Australia and New South Wales to Victoria, and from Oregon and Canada to California. The figures stated are indicative only.

28. *Illustrated London News*, 6 Nov. 1858, 428. The standard work on the management of Chinese emigration is Wang Sing-wu, *The Organization of Chinese Emigration, 1848–1888, with special Reference to Chinese Immigration to Australia* (San Francisco, 1978).

29. *Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, December 1869, 20; Rev. William Young, *Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population of Victoria* (Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1867); and Rev. Augustus Loomis to U.S. Senate, Rpt. 869, 1877, 447.

30. *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, December 1869, 20. Rev. Mr. Inglis, comments on the rules that had just been published in Young, *Report*.

31. David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (Stanford, Calif., 1994). California and Victoria (the richer diggings) together produced some 80 percent of the world's gold during the second half of the nineteenth century, with Victoria the larger producer. In both California and Victoria, there was fall-off in Chinese arrivals after the working out of the alluvial gold. Henry K. Norton, *The Story of California from the Earliest Days to the Present* (Chicago, 1924).

32. C. F. Yong, ?? (??, 1977), 36–39.

33. Ibid. Stan Steiner, *The Chinese Who Built America: The Chinese Railroad Men* (New York, 1979). See also Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History Museum, <<http://cprh.org/>> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007).

34. Boyce to Bunting, 20 Feb. 1879, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,

Australian Correspondence, MSS. On the overall situation in California, see Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California* (New Haven, Conn., 1994).

35. Wade Clark Roof, "Pluralism as a Culture: Religion and Civility in Southern California," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 2007. One writer has observed that California was "unusually unchurched." Eldon G. Ernst, "The Emergence of California in American Religious Historiography," *Religion and American Culture* 11 (Winter 2001), 35.

36. Thelma Hall Miler, "J. Lewis Shuck: In the Devil's Stamping Ground," *Virginia Baptist Register*, no. 43, 2004, 2135.

37. Markus, ??; Sandra Sizer Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives in Anglo-Protestantism, 1850–1910* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 2. The successful history of Irish settlement in California is discussed in Malcolm Campbell, "Ireland's Furthest Shores: Irish Immigrant Settlement in Nineteenth-century California and Eastern Australia," *Pacific Historical Review* 71 (February 2002), 66.

38. A recent article comparing treatment of indigenous peoples is Katherine Ellinghaus, "Indigenous Assimilation and Absorption in the United States and Australia," *Pacific Historical Review* 75 (2006).

39. On the Chinese in Victoria, see Kathryn Cronin, *Colonial Casualties* (Melbourne, 1982). An unfootnoted work of considerable interest is Eric Rolls, *Sojourners: The Epic Story of China's Centuries Old Relationship with Australia* (St. Lucia, Brisbane, 1992). A comparative study of the gold rushes in California and Victoria is Goodman, *Gold Seeking*. In 1848 there were just 4,000 American arrivals in California; the next year there were 30,000.

40. Jerome Hart, *In Our Second Century: From an Editor's Note-Book* (San Francisco, 1931). Hart was a contemporary observer of the anti-Chinese movement in California and, in particular, the Workingmen's Party. See also Neil L. Shumsky, *The Evolution of Political Protest and the Workingmen's Party of California* (Columbus, Ohio, 1991).

41. Parkin, "Anglo-Saxon," 609. In simple terms, Australians seem to prefer a higher level of government intervention to protect living standards and support the disadvantaged than do Americans. This is a complicated issue beyond analysis in this paper.

42. Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers*, 1. Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Will the Real California Please Stand up?" *California History*, no. 73 (1994), 268, cited in Malcolm Campbell, "Ireland's Furthest Shores," 66.

43. Cheong to the Shire Secretary, Lillydale (*sic*), 12 May 1909; copy in author's possession.

44. *Wesleyan Chronicle*, 19 Dec. 1874, 192.

45. Fletcher to Rev. Dr. Arthur Tidman, London Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, 26 Jan. 1857.

46. W. C. Pond, "Mission Work Among the Chinese Miners," *AM*, August 1880, 248. See discussion on mobility in Cathie R. May, *Topsawyers: The Chinese in Cairns* (Townsville, Qld., 1984). See also Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986); and Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society*, 75.

47. California State Senate, Report, 1878, 229. See *AM* for reports by the Rev. William Pond on similar problems in California; *idem*, *Gospel Pioneering: Reminiscences of Early Congregationalism in California, 1833–1920* (Oberlin, Ohio, 1921).

48. California State Senate, Report, 1878, 229. See *AM*.

49. *AM*, August 1880, 248. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society*.

50. Rev. W. C. Pond, "More Hoodlumism," *AM*, August 1882, 246–48.

51. Bessie S. Worley, "Chinese Sunday Schools," *AM*, March 1884, 84; Rev. G.

Mooar, "Letter from Oakland, Cal," *ibid.*, June 1884.

52. A comparative table of religious affiliations is available, but is far from reliable as the religious question is not compulsory in Californian or U.S. Censuses. It is compulsory in Australian Censuses.

53. The number of schools and converts is discussed in Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, *Memorial*, 9–11.

54. In January 1884, the Congregational Mission had nineteen missions. *AM*, January 1884.

55. A full list of Victorian Chinese Missions and Missionaries is at the Chinese Heritage of Australian Federation Project (CHAF), <<http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/welch/missionaries.htm>> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007).

56. Rev. W. C. Pond, "More Hoodlumism," *AM*, August 1882; *idem*, "Mission Work in May," *ibid.*, August 1883, 243–45. Similar harassment was reported in Victoria. A Melbourne evangelically owned newspaper, *Daily Telegraph*, reported many attacks on Chinese and praised magistrates who dealt firmly with the hoodlum element.

57. N. D. McLachlan D, "Larrikinism, An Interpretation" (M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1970). A. A. Hayes, "A Symposium on the Chinese Question," *Scribner's Monthly*, February 1879, 491. Cheok Hong Cheong, *Australasian Missionary News* (Sydney), 3 Jan. 1890. Cheong always used the English name order when writing in English. In his first contacts with the Presbyterian Chinese Mission in Victoria, he gave his name in the Chinese order but was irritated by being called Mr. Hong. He was educated at Presbyterian schools with the financial support of European Christians. He took elocution lessons and spoke everyday colonial English, with almost no Chinese accent. Welch, "Alien Son."

58. For contemporary Californian comments on the origins of Chinese immigrants see Rev. Otis Gibson, California State Senate, Report, 1878, 27, 30. "Chinese Notes," *AM*, February 1878, 43–44; and Condit, *Chinaman*, 26. A detailed list and map of Chinese immigrants to California is given in June Mei, "Socioeconomic Origins of Emigration: Guangdong to California, 1850–1882," *Modern China* 5 (October 1979), 462; a comprehensive map of the Pearl River delta emigrant districts is at p. 466.

59. Journal of Lo Sam Yuen, Ballarat, 18 June 1859; copy in author's possession.

60. *Argus*, 7 Sept. 1857.

61. Cronin, *Colonial Casualties*, 21; Rolls, *Sojourners*.

62. E. Daniel Potts and Annette Potts, *Young America and Australian Gold: Americans and the Gold Rush of the 1850s* (St. Lucia, Brisbane, 1974), 163.

63. Weston Bate, *Victorian Gold Rushes* (Melbourne, 1988), 28.

64. Fung Affoo, "Address," *AM*, March 1878, 81–83.

65. Cronin, *Colonial Casualties*, 34–39. See also Hsiao Kung-chuan, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle, 1960). Other useful works include H. B. Morse, *The Guilds of China*, London, 1904; Jean Chesneaux, *Secret Societies in China in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1971); *idem*, *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China, 1840–1950* (Stanford, Calif., 1972); U.S. Senate, Rpt. 869, 1877; and California State Senate, Report, 1878.

66. Rev. W. A. Loomis, "The Six Chinese Companies," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* (San Francisco), September 1868.

67. Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev. E. J. Barnett, 14 Jan. 1898; copy in author's possession.

68. Rev. William Pond, "Chinese Notes," *AM*, February 1878, 43–44.

69. Wang Sing-wu, *Organization of Chinese Emigration*, 110.

70. Yong, ??, 189.

71. *Argus*, 15 Nov. 1855. See also comments in J. Corbin, *Ever Working, Never Resting, A Memoire of J. L. Poore* (London, 1874), 214–15.

72. Chinese Petition against Victorian Immigration Restrictions. Chu A Luk, Chinese Missionary, on behalf of the Chinese at present meeting, To His Excellency Sir William Barkly.

73. On California, see Madeline Y. Hsu, “Migration and Native Place: Qiaohan and the Imagined Community of Taishan County, Guangdong, 1893–1993,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (May 2000); idem, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882–1943*, Stanford, Calif., 2000). See extract her book in idem, “California Dreaming: Migration and Dependency,” *Chinese America*, January 2002.

74. California State Senate, Report, 1878, 26.

75. There is no exact equivalent to the Chinese “joss-house” in European culture and in this paper the term “temple” is followed. *AM*, May 1879, 151–53. Despite his contact with Chinese Christians Pond had little knowledge of the judicial functions of the Chinese Associations, regarding them as business arbitrators. A recent report on *huiguan* from Malaysia illustrates their evolution and functioning in another context. <<http://courses.nus.edu.sg/course/histdd/notes/FOO.htm>> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007).

76. California 1876, 60. The opening of a See Yup temple at Spring Hill near Beechworth was mentioned in the press and the report included reference to its judicial functions; *Argus*, 25 Aug. 1857. This is a complex issue. The California enquiry did not rely on Chinese sources and Europeans gave most of the evidence. In the U.S. Senate Report, and a subsequent *Memorial*, the judicial activities of the Six Companies were strongly denied.

77. Young, ?? 1868, 19.

78. Stanford M. Lyman, “The Chinese Before the Courts: Ethno Racial Construction and Marginalization,” *International Journal of Politics and Society* 6 (March 1993). Cole and Chin, “Emerging.” On obstructing police in Australia, see Cronin, “The Chinese Community in Queensland, 1874–1900,” *Queensland Heritage*, May 1973, 11; *Daily Telegraph*, 1 Jan. 1880.

79. California State Senate, 1878, Report, 186. Cheok Hong Cheong claimed that his name had been written up on a red poster inviting someone to kill him because of his opposition to the opium trade in Australia. Cheong to Howat, 20 Mar. 1909; copy in author’s possession.

80. Alan Dwight, “The Chinese in the New South Wales Lawcourts, 1848–1854,” *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 73, pt. 2 (1987), 80. The U.S. Senate Report and the California Senate Reports on Chinese Immigration discuss violence within the Chinese community in California.

81. Loomis, “Six Chinese Companies.” See also Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, *Memorial*.

82. The term “merchant elite” was devised to provide an insight into the control exercised by the leading Chinese merchants in Victoria. See G. Oddie, “The Lower Class Chinese and the Merchant Elite in Victoria, 1870–1890,” *Historical Studies* 10 (November 1961).

83. Australian sources on this aspect are limited. See Oddie, “Lower Class Chinese.” The best account of the way the See Yup Society was organized is Leung Cook, onetime President of the See Yup Society in San Francisco; see California State Senate, Report, 1877, 129. The Australian arrangements were similar. The two major merchant leaders in Victoria were Lowe Kong Meng and Louis Ah Mouy. In addition

to their leadership of the See Yup (Siyi) and Sam Yup (Sanyi) Associations, they were also the leaders of the Gee Hing (Triads) in Victoria. Lowe Kong Meng was the principal manager of Chinese immigration to the Palmer River goldfields of North Queensland.

84. The practice is reported in California. D. L. Phillips, *Letters from California* (Springfield, Ill., 1877), 132–33; Tsai, *Chinese Experience*.

85. *Sacramento Reporter*, 30 June 1870, reported that a train bearing the accumulated bones of 1,200 Chinese workers on the Central Pacific Railroad passed through Sacramento. The *Elko Independent*, 5 Jan. 1870, reported: "We understand the Chinese Companies pay the Railroad Company \$10 for carrying to San Francisco each dead Chinaman. The remains of the females are left to rot in shallow graves while every defunct male is carefully preserved for shipment to the Occident." Both from <http://cpr.org/CPRR_Discussion_Group/2007/01/dead-chinese.html> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007).

86. *Argus*, 7 July ??, *The Star* (Ballarat), 17 Oct. 1861.

87. See the general discussion in J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religious System of China* (Leyden, 1892). *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, January 1890, 7. See also NSW State Archives, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, Request to exhume bones, 4/3476. For a late nineteenth-century illustration of the practice of cleaning the bones after exhumation, see *The Graphic* (London), 4 Jan. 1879. A British consular official reported from Australia in 1877 that sending the bones home seems to have declined in importance. J. Dundas Crawford, "Notes by Mr. Crawford on Chinese Immigration in Australian Colonies," 1877, Foreign Office Confidential Print 3742, National Library of Australia. A clergyman in Australia said that there were shipping companies that specialized in repatriating bones. Rev. A. Pyne, *Reminiscences of Colonial Life* (London, 1875), 413. A Christian in California was told that he could send his father's bones back to China without personally being involved in the ancestral worship issues objected to by Cheok Hong Cheong. *AM*, August 1889, 212. See also Sue Fawn Chung and Priscilla Wegars, *Chinese American Death Rituals* (Lanham, Md., 2005).

88. *Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, July 1865, 11.

89. U.S. Senate, Rpt. 869, 1877, 447.

90. *Church of England Record* (Melbourne), April 1857, 33. Loomis "Six Chinese Companies," reports the same arrangement in California.

91. Carl Smith, "The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong," lecture delivered to the Branch on 15 Mar. 1971, *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11 (1971), 38; Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1985).

92. William Young, "Fifth Report of the Victoria Chinese Mission," *Mount Alexander Mail*, 14 Dec. 1855.

93. Young, ?? Report, 1868, 18–19.

94. Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle, 1988), reviewed by Peter I. Rose, *Reviews in American History* 18 (September 1990). For Australian examples of Daniels's observation, see Kathryn Cronin, "The Yellow Agony: Racial Attitudes and Responses towards the Chinese in Colonial Queensland," in Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin, eds., *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination, Race Relations in Colonial Queensland* (Sydney, 1975), 312. See also Rolls, *Sojourners*.

95. *Mount Alexander Mail*, 14 Dec. 1855. The Cantonese domination of the Castlemaine and Bendigo districts was such that the local Chinese referred to

Castlemaine as “Little Canton” and Bendigo as “Big Canton.” J. G. Harrison, “Some Aspects of Business Life in Bendigo in 1853,” *Victorian Historical Magazine*, May 1959.

96. *Argus*, 16 Sept. 1856.

97. *Ibid.*, 8 Feb. 1858. See also May, *Topsawyers*, and Cronin, *Colonial Casualties*, 39.

98. Cronin, “Chinese Community in Queensland,” 5, 27.

99. *AM*, August 1879, 246. The Tuolomne rivalry involved some 500 Chinese and occurred in 1854. Some relevant material is held in the Weaverville joss house, See <http://www.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=457> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007).

100. *Harper's Weekly*, 13 Feb. 1886, 103 (illustrated).

101. Kok Hu Jin, *Hung Meng Handbook* (Bendigo, Vic., 2002); *idem*, *Hung Men Handbook—Commentary and Annotation, Parts I & II* (Bendigo, Vic., 2005).

102. John Fitzgerald, “Revolution and Respectability: Chinese Masons in Australian History,” <http://epress.anu.edu.au/cw/mobile_devices/ch06.html> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007). For Australia, see also Yong, ??, 160–66. Cronin, *Colonial Casualties*, 22–23. See also H. R. M. Humphreys, *Men of the Time in Australia* (Melbourne, 1874), 264; A. Huck, “Chinese in Australia,” in Stevens (1971–72). For America, see Stanford M. Lyman, “Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliation in San Francisco’s Chinatown, 1850–1910,” *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (November 1974), 489.

103. Condit, *Chinaman*, chap. 5.

104. Cheok Hong Cheong to William Howat, 27 Apr. 1909. See also letters of 20 Mar., 15 and 22 Apr. 1909; copies in author’s possession.

105. C. N. Reynolds, “The Chinese Tongs,” *American Journal of Sociology* 40 (March 1935), 612. There are numerous mentions of the tong wars in *Harper's Weekly* and other regular journals.

106. Fitzgerald, “Revolution and Respectability.”

107. The Rev. William Young reported meeting a man with a European wife who admitted having a wife in China. *Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, April 1865, 9.

108. Census of Victoria, 1881, para. 222. See passing mention in William F. Wu, *The Yellow Peril: Chinese Americans in American Fiction, 1850–1940* (Hamden, Conn., 1982), 72.

109. Rev. A. W. Loomis, “Chinese Women in California,” *Overland Monthly and Far West Magazine*, April 1869.

110. Woon, Voluntary Sojourner,” 675. A classic story in Australian Chinese immigrant history is that of the Taishanese boy, Mei Quoin Tart. He arrived in New South Wales at age nine, and later prospered and became a leading merchant. His life story and a bibliography is <<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050268b.htm?hilite=quong>

> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007). Otis Gibson thought that perhaps one-third of all Chinese immigrants to California were under twenty-one years of age. He mentions boys as young as four.

111. *Commonwealth of Australia Yearbook*, 1925. “Jim Crow” laws enacted in California are summarized at <[http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/lawsoutside.cgi?st](http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/lawsoutside.cgi?state=California)

> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007). There were no similar laws in Australia. Despite the American laws, Chinese children including mixed-race children, are mentioned in, for example, Rev. W. C. Pond, “What Shall We do with the Chinese?” *AM*, July 1885, 192–95. As Aborigines were not counted in Australian Censuses until post-1967, it is assumed that the information involves Chinese and European

liaisons.

112. Mei Quong Tart and a New South Wales policeman, Inspector Brennan, made a study of prostitution among Chinese in Australia. Parliament of New South Wales, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, vol. 2, *Report Upon Chinese Camps* (Brennan and Quong Tart), *Report*, 15 Jan. 1884.

113. Geoffrey Serle, *The Rush to be Rich: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1883–1889* (Carlton, 1971).

114. *Daily Telegraph*, 20 May 1887. The practice of young girls being sold for marriage abroad was reported by a British emigration agent as "the universal custom of the country," and having the support of the Duke of Newcastle. *Illustrated London News*, 30 Oct. 1858, 452. See also Loomis, "Chinese Women," 346; comments of Gibson, California State Senate, *Report*, 1878, 27.

115. *Argus*, 11 Nov. 1863; *The Age* (Melbourne), 10 Nov. 1864; *Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, December 1866, 16.

116. The definitive Australian study of intermarriage is Kate Bagnall, "Golden Shadows on a White Land: An Exploration of the Lives of White Women who Partnered Chinese Men and Their Children in Southern Australia, 1855–1915" (Ph.D., University of Sydney, 2006), <<http://deneb.library.usyd.edu.au:8080/handle/2123/1412/>> (accessed 27 Nov. 2007). New Zealand also accepted racial intermarriage. Report of the Rev. H. Cowie, formerly of the English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy, *Messenger and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of England*, November 1878.

117. Daniels, *Asian America*, 68–69.

118. Wong Ben, Chinese Interpreter, San Francisco, California State Senate, *Report*, 1878, 189. On cohabitation, see *Harper's Weekly*, 12 June 1869, and Loomis, "Chinese Women," 345.

119. Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Ill., 1939). See discussion of miscegenation laws in Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law." William Young reported from Ballarat in 1858 that applications for baptism came "principally from Chinese married to European women." William Young, *Victoria Chinese Mission, Report for 1858*. MSS, London Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, National Library of Australia.

120. Pascoe, ??, 49.

121. Edgar Wickberg, "Localism and the Organization of Overseas Migration in the Nineteenth Century," in Gary G. Hamilton, ed., *Cosmopolitan Capitalists: Hong Kong and the Chinese Diaspora at the End of the 20th Century* (Seattle, 1999).

122. Bate, *Victorian Gold Rushes*, 29. See Brennan and Quong Tart, 15 Jan. 1884, on European prostitution in Chinese camps in New South Wales.

123. Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore* (Boston, 1998). The Hawaiian situation was similar; Romanzo C. Adams, *The People of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1925), 8, cited in Tsai, *Chinese Experience*. See comments on young European men in California State Senate, *Report*, 1878, 189.

124. Carol Green Wilson, *Chinatown Quest: One Hundred Years of Donaldina Cameron House* (San Francisco, 1974); Mildred Crowl Martin, *Chinatown's Angry Angel: The Story of Donaldina Cameron* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1977); Pascoe, ?? (1990); and Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995). See James Michener, *Hawaii* (many editions) and the story of Wu Chow's aunty, a much happier story than was the case for many Chinese concubines.

125. Jeffrey L. Staley, "Gum Moon: The First Fifty Years of Methodist Women's Work in San Francisco Chinatown, 1870–1920," *Argonaut* (Journal of the San Fran-

cisco Museum and Historical Society) 16 (2005). See also Mrs. C. P. Colegrove, *Among the Chinese* (Cincinnati, Ohio, c1930).

126. AM, January 1884, and December 1884, 373.

127. On specific aspects of the treatment of the Chinese in Australia, see A. Markus, "Deeds Not Words: Community Violence Against Non-European Racial Minorities in Australia 1850–1900," *Journal of History* 4 (May 1973); idem, "Working Class Methods of Dealing with Chinese Competition," *Historian*, no. 25 (October 1973); and idem, "Divided We Fall: The Chinese and the Melbourne Furniture Trade Union, 1870–1900," *Labour History*, no. 26 (May 1974).

128. May, *Topsawyers*, 233.

129. Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War against Chinese Americans* (New York, 2007). This book lists more than 200 major anti-Chinese episodes in California, including the expulsion of entire Chinese communities. There is nothing comparable in Australian racial history. See partial reprint, "Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans," *New York Times*, 29 July 2007. This item has an illustration of an anti-Chinese riot in Denver.

130. Roger Daniels, ed., *Anti-Chinese Violence in North America* (New York, 1978).

131. Benjamin J Brooks, a lawyer, told the U.S. Senate Committee that there had been "a great many assassinations" of Chinese, "mostly by officers of the State." Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, *Memorial*, 8 Dec. 1877, 41. Victoria's law-abiding history and absence of the lynch law was reported in Parkin, "Anglo-Saxon," 609.

132. James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York, 2005).

133. The negative portrayal of the Chinese has attracted a substantial body of research in the United States and Australia. On disease in California, see Susan Craddock, *City of Plagues: Disease, Poverty and Deviance in San Francisco* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1999). The impact of leprosy introduced among Australian Aboriginal people is examined in Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and Other Diseases in Aboriginal Australia: 1780–1880* (Melbourne, 2002). Anti-Chinese images from nineteenth-century U.S. publications are found inter alia in *Harper's Weekly*, *The Wasp*, and *Puck*. The Chinese-American Historical Society in San Francisco and the Balch Institute in Philadelphia hold collections. The best-known Australian anti-Chinese cartoon is "The Mongolian Octopus," *The Bulletin*, 21 Aug. 1888. The Chinese and disease inspired the cover art of the *Queensland Figaro*, 13 Mar. 1886. The Melbourne *Punch* is also a good source of Australian cartooning on the Chinese, especially in the 1850s when curiosity was more prominent than racism.

134. *Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 Jan. 1869, 11–12; *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (London), April 1869, 144; *ibid.*, September 1867, 3. See also *Mount Alexander Mail*, 21 May 1888; and *Wesleyan Missionary Notice*, July 1868, 95, September 1868, 167, and October 1868, 100.

135. Testimony of Ham Yeng Tang, Castlemaine, *Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 Dec. 1865, 184. Testimony of Chung Ah Shaw, Maldon Victoria, *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, October 1868, 101.

136. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, October 1870, 218.

137. Cheong, Response to proposals of Rev. R. Ebbs, 1915; copy in author's possession.

138. Rev. James Moorhouse, *Church of England Messenger*, 2 Dec. 1979, 5.

139. King, Archdeacon Robert L. King, "Our Chinese Brethren," *Australasian Missionary News*, 1 June 1888.

140. Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong, and Louis Ah Mouy, *The Chinese*

Question in Australia, 1879–80 (Melbourne, 1879). Although nominally produced by these three men, the style of the document is clearly that of Cheong. However, it would have been approved by Meng and Mouy, both of whom had good English skills.

141. *Daily Telegraph*, 4 June 1888.

142. Meng, Cheong and Mouy, *Chinese Question*.

143. Anthony Reid, ed., *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese* (Sydney, 1996). Carl A. Trocki, "A Drug on the Market: Opium and the Chinese in Southeast Asia, 1750–1880" (Paper presented to the International Society for the Study of the Chinese Overseas, Elsinore, Denmark, 5–10 May 2004).

144. G. Martin, ed., *The Founding of Australia: The Argument about Australia's Origins* (Sydney, 1978).

145. Ng Poon Chew's life is discussed in Hoexter, ??, Part 2, 133–270; Wang Gungwu, "Sojourning: The Chinese Experience in Southeast Asia," in Anthony Reid, ed., *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, Sydney, 1966).

146. Rudolf Lowenthal, "The Chinese Press in Australia," photocopy, n.d., National Library of Australia.

147. The paper was lithographed in Chinese on one side and English on the other, and issued 20,000 copies in its first year. In the second year, the Six Companies paid for the Chinese section of the paper. William Speer, *The Oldest and the Newest Empire; China and the United States* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1870), 680.

148. The Chinese editor was named as Lee Kau. *The Oriental* was "Devoted to information relating to the Chinese people, the Eastern World, and the promotion of Christianity." See Clifford M. Drury, "Presbyterian Journalism on the Pacific Coast," *Pacific Historical Review* 9 (1940), 464. Speer's paper was reported in Victoria; see *Mt Alexander Mail*, 13 July 1855.

149. Notes from online journal, Wandering Lizard, <<http://www.inn-california.com/articles/biographic/ngpoonchewbionotes.html>>. See also Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History Museum, <http://cpr.org/Museum/Chinese_Newspapers.html>.

150. *Presbyterian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, November 1870, 8, and 20 Sept. 1873, 8. The press also produced a Chinese Presbyterian hymnal based on the book prepared by Rev. Carstairs Douglas of the English Presbyterian Mission in Amoy. The earliest Chinese newspaper was *The English and Chinese Advertiser* published by Robert Bell in Ballarat in 1861. Later Chinese newspapers, some associated with political movements, included *The Chinese Australian Herald* (*Guangyi huabao*), Sydney, 1894; *The Tung Wah News* (*Donghua xinbao*), Sydney, 1898; *Patriotic News* (*Aiguo bao*), Melbourne, 1902; *Republican News* (*Minguo bao*), Sydney, 1911; and *Arouse the Orient News* (*Jingdong xinbao*), Melbourne, 1908.

151. Jun Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China: 1919–1937* (Bethlehem, Penn., 1996). See also Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850–1950* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971); F. S. Drake, "East and West in Christian Universities in China," *International Review of Missions* 36 (July 1947), 342. See also "The American Context of China's Christian Colleges and Schools," <<http://www.library.yale.edu/div/colleges/>>.

152. On religion and U.S. colleges and the missionary movement that resulted, see Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War: With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (New York, 1932). A more modern study is Wayne Flynt and Gerald W. Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1997).

153. Phillip Brothie, "The Importance of the Contribution of Australians to the Penetration of China by the China Inland Mission in the Period 1888–1953, with Particular Reference to the Work of Australian Women Missionaries" (Ph.D. diss., Deakin University, Victoria, 2003). This is the only detailed study of the CIM in Australia. An earlier general account is M. L. Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand* (Sydney, 1965).

154. Ryan Dunch, "Reflections on Missionary Education in Modern China" (Conference Paper, Wesleyan University, 19–20 Sept. 2002).

155. In 1879 the Presbyterians had four missions in California, all staffed by Chinese-speaking Europeans. Rev. W. C. Pond, "Summary of Mission Work among the Chinese," *AM*, March 1879, 86. A result of the educational difference is that the Victorian Chinese missions produced nothing to compare with the literary output of American missionaries.

156. The Congregational Chinese Mission established a large network of English-language Bible classes and Sunday Schools across California. A full list of all the nineteenth-century Australian Chinese Missions and missionaries is at: <<http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/welch/missionaries.htm#vcm>>.

157. The Congregational Chinese Mission (American Missionary Association) provided regular reports highlighting the central role of English-language teaching in evangelizing the Chinese and mentions the use of books for the deaf. Cheong reported that Anglican missions at the end of the nineteenth century were using a book he described only as "a First Chinese Reader," but it has not been identified.

158. *AM*, February 1880, 54–56. The use of English classes was common across the United States. See the description of a class in New York, *Harper's Weekly*, 19 July 1879, 573–74.

159. *AM*, August 1880, 249.

160. A list of Victorian baptisms can be found at <<http://131.172.16.7:81/welch/>>.

161. Jee Gam, "From the Chinese Pupils Standpoint," *AM*, March 1884, 86.

162. Rev. Andrew Happer to Rev. Robert Hamilton, *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, October 1877.

163. Williams, *Pioneer Pastorate*, 127, citing an article in *The Presbyterian Advocate*; Woo, "Presbyterian Mission"; Daniel H. Bays, "Christianity and Chinese Sects: Religious Tracts in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Susan Wilson Barnett and John K. Fairbank, eds., *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Writings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); Ian Welch, "Chinese Protestant Christian Tracts in 19th Century Australia" (Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Australian Historical Association, Melbourne, April 2000). The most important tract in China, America and Australia, was the Rev. William Milne's "The Two Friends."

164. Rev. Gibson's evidence to the two enquiries is found in U.S. Senate, Rpt. 869, 1877, and California State Senate, Report, 1878, from 25.

165. *Church of England Messenger*, 8 Oct. 1884, 11.

166. Rev. George Piercy to Rev. James Caldwell, *Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 Oct. 1868.

167. The cultural complexity is discussed in Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004). Caldwell's report is in *Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 Oct. 1868, and also in *Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Notices*, January 1869, 114–16.

168. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society*, 157.

169. Rev. W. C. Pond, "Letters from Pupils," *AM*, January 1881, 23–25. This issue contains several letters written to Pond by Chinese Christians. A comment on the American Memory site in the Library of Congress that no original Chinese mate-

rial can be found ignores the material published in many American nineteenth-century journals. An example of a superb essay by a Chinese is Yan Phou Lee, "Why I am not a Heathen. A Rejoinder to Wong Chin Foo," *North American Review*, September 1887. Yan was one of the one hundred Chinese brought to the United States as students. The group was known as the Chinese Education Mission. See <<http://www.wsulibs.wsu.edu/Holland/MASC/xlafargue.html>>.

170. Williams, *Pioneer Pastorate*, 122. See also Speer, *Oldest and the Newest Empire*.

171. See entry in Australian Dictionary of Biography, <<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060271b.htm?hilite=soo%3Bhoo%3Bten>>.

172. *Australasian Missionary*, 1 Jan. 1889.

173. James Gin Hung, *Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 Dec. 1865, 183–86.

174. *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (London), 1855, 728.

175. Most of the Victorian Chinese missions in rural areas had fewer than a dozen members and from time to time missions were closed as the Chinese population declined. As in California, Victorian missions were poorly attended during peak seasons of rural production. See Low Quong, "Four Months of Evangelistic Work," *AM*, May 1888, 137. The files of the Congregational American Missionary journal report a similar situation in California.

176. Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 1.

177. Journal of Lo Sam Yuen, 18 June 1859.

178. *Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 Dec. 1865, 184.

179. For a discussion of Christian impact at village level in China see Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, *The Bible and the Gun . . . Christianity in South China, 1860–1900* (New York, 2003); Alan Richard, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860–1900* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2001); and Rev. W. C. Pond, "An Anniversary at Sacramento," *AM*, March 1880, 85–87.

180. Rev. Andrew Happer to Rev. Robert Hamilton, *Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, October 1877.

181. Rev. W. C. Pond, "Mission Work in May," *AM*, August 1883, 243–45. This theme recurs. See "Chin Gaing in China," *ibid.*

182. *Ibid.*, March 1880, 85–87.

183. *Ibid.*, April 1879, 121–23.

184. *Ibid.*, May 1888, 138.

185. *Report of the Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese in California*, San Francisco 1881, Bancroft Library. This dream was not just an idle remark made to please the mission management.

186. Senator John F. Miller, "Certain Phases of the Chinese Question," *Overland Monthly and Far West Magazine*, April 1896, 429.

187. *Ibid.* A similar account of returning men is given by Jee Gam, a California convert and missionary, in *AM*, May 1888, 138. See "Jue Lee's Address," *ibid.*, August 1884, 245–47.

188. *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, 1855, 729.

189. Loewen, *Sundown Towns*.

190. A useful discussion of the role of evangelicals in preventing the systematic implementation of unfree labor in Australia is Rev. Dr. John H. Darch, "Missionaries as Humanitarians? Opposition to the Recruitment of Indentured Labour for Queensland in the 1860s and 70s" (Henry Martyn Seminar paper delivered at Westminster College, Cambridge, UK, 2 Mar. 2006).

COMMENTS AND QUERIES

In the process of copyediting your manuscript, I have made many technical changes to it due to differences between American and British/Australian writing/publishing styles. Our goal is to maintain style consistency in our journal essays. However, most of the problems/changes are in the notes section, which has been practically revamped.

As you review your proofs, now that you see what our style is -- please help catch -- just in case -- anything that may still need to be caught.

SPECIFIC QUERIES IN THE TEXT SECTION

In the text, after notes 65 and 88, as well as note 109 in the note section, you have Rev. August Loomis, no middle initial, or A. W. Loomis. Then in notes 66 and 81 in your original file, Loomis is rendered as W. A. Loomis -- why? Typos?

Table 2 needs to be mentioned in the text, just like Table 1. Please see change of wording.

Table 3 needs not to be a table but the figures can be easily expressed in a sentence. Please see change.

In the quotation of note 142, are italics in the original, or yours?

NOTES SECTION

The copyedited notes as displayed in the proofs will eventually be placed at the bottom of final pages as footnotes. As such, these notes are primarily for citations of quotations and references in the text with only relevant information not appropriate to put in the text. Due to the constraint of space and page makeup, we avoid redundancy and irrelevant information, and abbreviate the notes as far as we can without losing clarity. In other words, notes should kept to minimum size.

Our style requires that reference citations must match exactly the original, including subtitles and names of authors, without abbreviating their first/middle names. We will leave personal names the way you have cited except for a few inconsistencies mentioned below. We do not want to make any massive changes at this point.

QUERIES IN THE TEXT SECTION

If you accessed internet website references all on the same date, apparently most mentioned 27 Nov. 2007, can we put this in an numbered note so we can eliminate the repeated info?

note 26 -- I have reworded it to "Copy in author's possession" and have applied the same to notes 43, 59, 67, 79, 104, and 137, where you cannot just put your name there.

note 29. A W Loomis -- in fact, you cannot use op cit because this reference is the first appearance, you need to provide the full reference.

note 31 -- Goodman reference cited for the first time, full citation has been moved from note 39.

note 32 -- full citation needed for Yong, can't find it elsewhere. Notes 70 and 102 needs the abbreviated ref title.

note 39 and 62 -- why is pub place "St. Lucia, Brisbane" and not just Brisbane?

notes 41 and 131 -- the Century reference is actually Parkin's of note 20, right?

note 48 -- ok to drop second reference? Unless you provide specifics.

note 63 -- Bate reference not complete, full cite has been moved from note 122.

note 65 -- is Cronin title ok, she has several references

notes 66 and 81 -- why, unlike elsewhere, do Loomis's initials change to W. A.?

note 66 -- title of magazine same as notes 109 and 186 (Out West vs. Far West)? Was it simply a typo?

note 72 -- reference citation unclear and confusing

note 76 -- first ref appears nowhere else, need full cite.

notes 77 and 93 -- the Young ref of 1868 does not match others of his, please clarify.

note 78 -- Cronin's reference (1973) appears for the first time, full cite has been moved from note 98.

note 86 -- year missing

note 102 -- Huck's ref in Stevens, Stevens's ref need full cite

note 106 -- is Fitzgerald's ref ok and same as note 102?

note 120 -- Pascoe ref unclear

note 124 -- Pascoe ref (1990) unclear

note 138 -- 1879 rather than 1979?

note 145 -- Hoexter ref needs full cite.

note 147 -- Speer ref full cite but has been brought in from note 170.

